



Director of
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USSR - WESTERN EUROPE: Prospects for CSCE

//The CSCE review meeting in Madrid reconvenes today after an eight-month recess caused by Western protests against the imposition of martial law in Poland.//

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Comment: //Almost all participants apparently are ready to begin negotiations on a draft agreement submitted by the nonaligned countries last December. The immediate Soviet and East European goal at the meeting will be to secure agreement to hold a European Disarmament Conference. US - West European differences in a number of policy areas evidently have led the Soviets to believe their chances of success have improved.//

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//The Soviets and East Europeans know from recent discussions with Western officials that they face more criticism on Poland and other human rights issues, but they probably expect it will be limited. If the West demonstrates a durable consensus in demanding significant human rights concessions, the USSR probably will become more defensive and intransigent. It would continue trying to divide the West Europeans and the US.//

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//The West Europeans are pleased with the Western negotiating position, achieved at the last minute, which calls for stronger security and human rights provisions than are in the nonaligned draft and for meetings after Madrid on human rights and family reunification. The Allies are pledged to maintain a tough negotiating position toward the East, but West Germany, France, and some others may be willing to ease their criticisms of the Polish situation if it appears possible to achieve agreement on a European Disarmament Conference. For most Allied governments, it is important simply to keep the negotiations alive to avoid blame for failure.//

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//Chances for reaching consensus at Madrid remain slim unless martial law restrictions in Poland are eased. If the conference ends in deadlock, the participants may try to preserve the CSCE review process by adopting a short statement that would keep open the possibility of a European Disarmament Conference while avoiding mention of the continuing discord.//

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IRAN-IRAQ: Fighting in Iraq

[redacted]
Iranian forces west of Dezful have pushed to the border in some areas and have advanced about 6 kilometers inside Iraq at least at one point. Elements of two Iraqi armored brigades are in blocking positions a few kilometers from the Iranian armored company and infantry force seen in Iraq. Other Iraqi forces are still in Iran south of Robut.// [redacted]

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Comment: //Iran is exploiting Iraqi withdrawals from much of the high ground along the border. Its forces in the area--primarily infantry--are not strong enough to drive far. The recapture of Iranian territory west of the Doveyrich River and the operations in Iraq will be encouraging to Tehran's hardliners, who have been seeking a military solution while discouraging mediation efforts.// [redacted]

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USSR-AFGHANISTAN: World Peace Meeting in Kabul

The Soviet-controlled World Peace Council is sponsoring a four-day conference in Kabul, beginning on Friday, to discuss the economic consequences of the arms race. [redacted]
[redacted]

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Comment: The USSR has been trying to build up the international standing of the regime of President Babrak by luring foreigners to Kabul. Most of those who will attend this conference, however, are already sympathetic to Soviet positions, and it will not increase the regime's standing abroad. [redacted]

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SUDAN: Student Demonstrations

Several hundred secondary students in Khartoum yesterday protested fuel and food shortages, but the police contained the demonstration. The chronic gasoline shortage has grown acute in recent days, and troops have been stationed at gas stations where violence has occurred because of long lines. The government and the IMF still have not reached an agreement that would open the way for Khartoum to obtain a standby loan. [REDACTED]

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Comment: Government officials apparently still hope that the IMF will soften its terms or that Saudi Arabia will provide enough aid to ease Sudan's financial crisis. President Nimeiri claims King Fahd has promised to provide a three-year supply of oil. Although the Saudis might provide some petroleum on an emergency basis, they continue to link more substantial assistance to Khartoum's willingness to reach agreement with the IMF. They have resisted efforts by Nimeiri to arrange a visit to Saudi Arabia, believing that he wants to ask King Fahd for large-scale aid. [REDACTED]

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HONDURAS: Terrorist Bombings

Honduran radicals bombed the offices of four US subsidiaries late last week in Tegucigalpa. The explosions resulted in minor damage but no injuries. The Lorenzo Zelaya Command, one of the most radical Honduran leftist organizations, later claimed credit for the incident. [REDACTED]

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Comment: The attacks are a warning to the Honduran Government to moderate its pro-US stance. US business interests are the most likely targets of future attacks by the Lorenzo Zelaya Command, which has links with insurgent groups in El Salvador. The Salvadorans may have assisted in the operation, as they did in a similar bombing attack in August. [REDACTED]

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Special Analysis

POLAND: Another Test of Wills

The second anniversary tomorrow of the legal recognition of Solidarity will mark the first attempt by underground union leaders to organize nationwide strikes and demonstrations to protest the recent dissolution of the union. The regime appears to have the upper hand and has carried out a systematic campaign to discourage participation in the planned protests. The authorities will interpret a limited response as proof that their policies are working and as another large step toward ending martial law. Church leaders continue to emphasize their opposition to violence, and many local priests probably have urged workers to avoid bloodshed. A low turnout may erode the morale of underground activists, but they will persevere and the political stalemate will continue.

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Solidarity sources have told US Embassy officers that they believe workers are too afraid to stage strikes. The Embassy also has found workers to be apathetic and dejected, fearing economic reprisals.

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Workers are disgruntled with what they view as a lack of leadership from the underground. Solidarity, in fact, does not seem well organized at the shopfloor level.

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The call for strikes urged workers to set up secret strike committees, implying that none existed. Moreover, workers fear that the underground is thoroughly penetrated by the secret police and that any strike organizers would be easily spotted and subjected to harsh penalties.

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The Regime's Preparations

The authorities appear more confident about their ability to control events than they did in August, when numerous high-level officials warned of bloody revolution. A government spokesman recently claimed the underground is too weak to mount large-scale demonstrations. [redacted]

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Premier Jaruzelski's advisers may in fact be confident they can handle any challenge offered by Solidarity. Their avoidance of exaggerated warnings this time may be designed to avoid alarming the Soviets and to prevent domestic hardliners from claiming that Jaruzelski is not able to maintain order. [redacted]

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[redacted] The US Embassy notes increased security patrols in Warsaw. [redacted]

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The government, however, also is offering the populace some inducements. At the Lenin shipyards, for example, the authorities may have tried to buy off workers by giving them large pay increases. In a similar vein, the announcement of a papal visit in June 1983 is an effort to quiet discontent. [redacted]

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The Church Appeals for Calm

Church leaders are again urging moderation. Archbishop Glemp's fear of violence prompted him to express his opposition to the strikes and to meet yesterday with Jaruzelski. [REDACTED]

Glemp and other Church officials evidently have accepted the dissolution of Solidarity and are looking for ways to reduce tension. [REDACTED]

Prospects

The regime seems to be in command. Although there will be numerous symbolic job actions, only a few strikes in the important factories are likely. There also probably will be demonstrations in the streets tomorrow and on Thursday--Poland's prewar national day--but these will be put down by the authorities. [REDACTED]

Limited protests will demonstrate that while public sympathies remain with Solidarity, most people believe little can be done now to change the situation. Even if the turnout is small, underground leaders will continue to plan and organize for the future, arguing the need to be better prepared for the next time. [REDACTED]

The regime is likely to interpret a weak response to the strike calls as proof that its policies are working. Jaruzelski probably would proceed with his plans to lift martial law by the end of the year, assuming no major demonstrations take place around 13 December, when Solidarity has called for a week of protests. [REDACTED]

If the strikes are more widespread than now seems likely, however, workers could regain some of their confidence and ignore calls for moderation. In this event, some Solidarity leaders believe worker demands for revenge could quickly lead to bloodshed. [REDACTED]

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